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A Tale of Two Ṭuruq: An Exploration of Sufism in Morocco through the Qādiriyya Budshishiyya and Tijāniyya

May Hu

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A Tale of Two Ṭuruq

An Exploration of Sufism in Morocco through the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya* and *Tijāniyya*

May Hu

SIT: Morocco: Multiculturalism and Human Rights (MOR)

Academic Director (MOR): Taieb Belghazi

Academic Advisor (MOR): Khalid Saqi

University of Virginia

Religious Studies

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for MOR: Multiculturalism and Human Rights, SIT Study Abroad, Spring 2018

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Abstract

The purpose of this ISP is to explore the relationship between the esoteric dimensions of Islam in Morocco, as expressed through two examples *ṭuruq*: the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya* and *Tijāniyya* in Morocco to explore power dynamics of Sufi *ṭuruq* in Morocco. The *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya* and *Tijāniyya* serve as apt case studies as two of the most prominent Sufi *ṭuruq* in Morocco. They also have interesting implications as the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya* has in recent years seen an increase in clout and influence in Morocco as Ahmad Tawfiq, the Moroccan Minister for Habus and Islamic Affairs has affiliations with the *ṭarīqah* and the *Tijāniyya* has been utilized as well in recent years as a means to strengthen relations with other African countries via means of spirituality. Within the ISP, I will explore my own academic background in the field of religious studies; background contextualization of Islam in Morocco, Sufism, and Sufism in Morocco – more specifically in terms of the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya* and *Tijāniyya*, through a series of literary research; the interviews and anonymous surveys that I conducted during my time in Morocco; and re-contextualize everything through my own framework and positionality in terms of methodology and conclusions drawn.

Key words: Sufism, Esoteric, Moroccan Spirituality, *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya*, and *Tijāniyya*

Acknowledgements:

Thank you to everyone that has supported me in my academic pursuits. I would like to acknowledge the Center for Cross Cultural Learning for providing a viable academic environment as well as resources to help make this ISP possible. In addition, I would like to thank Bilal Humeidan, Suad Mohamed, and Fatiha Takaajaout, my incredible past Arabic professors that have helped to give me the language skills to translate and communicate with Moroccans. In addition, I would like to thank my Moroccan host family as they patiently helped me with my Arabic and took me in as one of their own, warm and caring in every second of the day. I would also like to thank my friend Kalgaal Issa and her uncle Ibrahim Doualeh for taking me into their home during ISP. It is also important for me to thank Taieb Belghazi, my MOR academic director, for his warm spirit, unrelenting caring nature, and academic guidance as well as Khalid Saqi, my MOR academic advisor, for helping me to narrow down my focus for my ISP as well as expanding my understanding of Sufism and Moroccan spirituality. I would also like to thank those that allowed me to interview them for my ISP, including Professor Rddad – who vastly helped me understand the role of Sufism in Morocco, as well as the several Moroccan individuals that allowed me to anonymously interview and survey them. Lastly, I would like to thank my support network back at home, namely my mother and stepfather that always try to understand my academic pursuits and passions; my closest friends Maxim Markovics and Sam Signorelli that provided me with incredible love and support – especially in every bout of homesickness; my academic advisor, Shankar Nair, for introducing me to the topic of Sufism; and all of my other professors from the University of Virginia that always teach with such heart and passion that have given me the courage to pursue and study what I truly love.

“The union of the mind and intuition which brings about illumination, and the development which the Sufis seek, is based upon love.”

-Idries Shah

Introduction

Sufism started as a reactionary to the institutionalized worldliness of Islam, Sufism quickly picked up disciples of all walks of life and spread in diversity and span. Sufism itself would take more than a single ISP to even begin to define, both because of its sheer diversity and span as well as its complex philosophical nature. At the core, Sufism is about the mystical dimensions of Islamic spirituality, gaining esoteric knowledge, as well as devoting a life entirely to loving and knowing God. Sufism can be found nearly everywhere that Islam is found, and was instrumental in the spread of Islam as Sufism's message appealed to many, especially those outside of Arab communities, as Sufis were often pioneers in settling in new regions and were quick and tolerant to integrate indigenous practices with Sufism and the worship of God.

Coming into Morocco, I already knew that I had a vested interest in Sufism and that this is a topic that I was very interested in studying, but due to the complex nature of Sufism, it was necessary to narrow down my topic. Through speaking with my academic director, Taieb Belghazi, and my academic advisor, Khalid Saqi, that I decided to focus on two *ṭuruq*, the *Qādiriyya* and the *Tijāniyya* and their relationship with national and international politics, the potential propaganda surrounding them, and their presence on the Moroccan conscious. This is a challenge that I was incredibly excited for as prior, I had only read about Sufism in books and now I was going to learn about it on a more practical front, something that I would need to accomplish without overtly Orientalizing, fetishizing, or essentializing Islam or Sufism.

Due to my extensive interest in Sufism as a whole, it was incredibly tempting throughout to do a more generalized look at Sufism in Morocco, or Sufism throughout the Islamic world, however this type of project is one that would require more time than I had available in order to do it justice. To address this temptation, I attempted to frame all of the research

obtained into the context of Sufism's various roles as seen through the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya* and *Tijāniyya*. My research question is as follows:

What roles do the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya* and *Tijāniyya* play in Moroccan power dynamics?

Through my research I have come to find that both the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya* and *Tijāniyya* serve very distinct, but equally important and viable roles, with the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya* serving as a powerful recruiter of youth in Morocco and a strong proponent of the Morocco government and Monarchy while also being in harmony with Orthodox Islam – helping to limit the influence of extremist ideology and the *Tijāniyya* is a way for the Moroccan government to reach out to sub-Saharan nations as a form of spiritual diplomacy as well as a way to interact with migrants and immigrants coming into Morocco, as many migrants and immigrants associate with the *Tijāniyya*. However, I have also come to find that the perception of Sufism and the perpetuation of Sufism in Morocco is not necessarily viewed as favorably by everyone, rather for many, this is viewed as a control tactic by the Moroccan government in order to keep the public complacent and apolitical, or rather disengage. Others think that perhaps the promotion of Sufism could cause Sufism to grow out of control and perhaps even turn against the Moroccan government eventually as did several predecessor government programs.

These are all debates that I wrestle with throughout this ISP while attempting to contextualize them properly in order to limit biases and limit the affects of my own positionality in causing the work to become subjective. I do this through a series of literature review accompanied with interviews from three different demographic backgrounds as well as viewpoints concerning Sufism in Morocco as well as consistently attempting to round my findings back into

the proper context and acknowledging my own positionality in both potentially skewing results as well as the interpretation of said results.

Key Terms:

Sufism: It is nearly impossible to give a brief description of Sufism in all of its forms without essentializing major aspects, so for the purposes of a simple definition I will stick to basics of Sufism that are seen in nearly every form and facet. The major theme of Sufism that is nearly universally agreed upon is the idea of love, that everything is for love and everything is through love, and this point is expressed extensively throughout Sufi philosophy, literature, and art. It is inherently about discovering Divine Love and seeking esoteric knowledge and educating the soul and heart in order to annihilate the selfish and humanistic parts of the inner soul. The human soul is oftentimes described as being akin to a mirror that reflects God's *wūjūd*, otherwise known as God's Essence or Divinity, and that the goal of Sufism is to polish the mirror and prevent it from being as warped as possible in order to be the best reflection of God's *wūjūd*. This is done through focusing on the esoteric or inner dimensions of Islam and the personal relationship between the worshipper and God. This can be accomplished through various means, including *dhirkullah*, otherwise known as the remembrance of God, through communal and private rituals, and with the help of a spiritual guide/leader, known as a *sheikh*.

Esoteric: Esoteric dimensions are those that are beyond simple understanding that can only be understood by turning inwards and discovering the absolute Divine Truth of God.

Moroccan Spirituality: While Morocco is recognized as a religiously tolerant nation with several different faiths and denominations, it is still predominantly Muslim and identifies as an Islamic nation, even having a Ministry for Habous and Islamic Affairs. Moroccan Islamic Spirituality is generally defined with the pillars of *Sunnī* Islam, the King as the Commander of the Faithful, *Mālikī* school of jurisprudence, *Sunnī* based Sufism, and following the *Sharīʿah*.

Zāwiyah: These are locations in which *dhikrullah*, otherwise known as the ritualistic communal remembrance of God in the Sufi context, is performed. In the Moroccan context, Sufi orders are oftentimes referred to as *zāwiyah*.

Qādiriyya: The *Qādiriyya ṭarīqah* was founded by *Sheikh Mawlāyy al-Qadīr al-Jilanī*, who lived from 1077-1166 CE in Baghdad. After the formation of the *Qādiriyya ṭarīqah*, it spread to all reaches of the world, from China to the USA, the *Qādiriyya* can be found in nearly every corner of the world. They focus intently on the purification of the soul in order to be as near perfect of a mirror of God and his Divine Qualities as possible, and believe in doing so through *Sharīʿah* as well as other prescribed methods. Due to the nature of the *Qādiriyya*, they are apt to be compatible with more institutionalized forms of *Islām*. However, this is not to say that the *Qādiriyya* can be described as docile or simplistic, as one of the largest *jīhad* was led by *Uṭmān Dan Fōdō*, a member of the *Qādiriyya*.

Qādiriyya in Morocco: Prior to the 1980s, the *Qādiriyya*, while a present force in Morocco, did not have the same clout that they do now. However, after the appointment of *Aḥmed Ṭawfīq* to the position of Minister of Habus and Islamic Spirituality, the influence and relationship between the *Qādiriyya* and the Moroccan government in terms of domestic affairs has grown. The *Qādiriyya*

ṭarīqah has found itself in a unique symbiotic relationship with the Moroccan government in which they have a mutually beneficial symbiotic relationship. The Moroccan government helps grant the *Qādiriyya* political influence and clout, while the *Qādiriyya* aids the government by being supportive of the Moroccan government on the whole, granting them a sense a religious and spiritual backing.

Tijāniyya: The *Tijāniyya ṭarīqah* was started by *Sheikh Aḥmad al-Tijanī*, and the creation of the *Tijāniyya* had controversial implications as *al-Tijanī* claimed himself as the seal of Sainthood. The *Tijāniyya* is a rather exclusive *ṭarīqah*, as once one has initiated themselves into the *ṭarīqah*, they are unable to affiliate themselves with any of the other *ṭarīqah* or the *wird* of another *ṭarīqah*. The *ṭarīqah* itself was founded in Northern Africa, but has since spread throughout Africa and globally as well, however maintains most of its stronghold in Africa, specifically Western Africa today.

Tijāniyya in Morocco

The *Tijāniyya* in Morocco is a means of connecting spiritually with many other African nations, especially West African. However, even within Morocco, the *Tijāniyya* has a significant spiritual stronghold and can be found greatly in Fez, especially as the founder of the *Tijāniyya* was based in Fez for a bit of time, and died in Fez as well. The *Tijāniyya* is an ideal Sufi *ṭarīqah*, for unification both between Sufis in Morocco as well as establishing spiritual connections between Morocco and other nations because of the uniqueness that is the *Tijāniyya ṭarīqah*, and their beliefs and founding. There is a sense of solidarity between those of the *Tijāniyya ṭarīqah*, because of the elite nature that the founder, *Sheikh Aḥmad al-Tijanī* bestowed upon it as well as himself. Another contributing factor to the

influence of the *Tijāniyya* on spiritually connecting Morocco with many other African countries, especially sub-Saharan and West African countries, is that in times of colonization, the *Tijāniyya* would oftentimes align themselves with the colonizers, and Morocco shared the same colonizer as many other African countries, France.

Academic Background and Positionality

In everything, it is important to contextualize. Even in academic works, the background and positionality must be accounted for and acknowledged in order to minimize bias and completely understand the work. As for this work, prior to coming to Morocco I had studied Sufism extensively in three of my courses, one of which was a course on Sufi doctrine, philosophy, practice, literature, and art; another one was a course on Islam in Africa with an emphasis on the role of Sufism in Western and North Africa; and the last one was a course on the intersectionality between Eastern Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, and East Asia, with a large unifying factor being Islam and an emphasis put on how Sufism adopted many different forms and cultures in these regions. Needless to say, Sufism is a topic that I feel very passionately about and one that is a keen academic interest of mine that I have become fascinated and enamored by. In terms of my own positionality, I was born and raised in the United States, but was raised in a very traditionally Chinese family as both of my parents are immigrants from China.

While I study Islam as a large part of my major in Religious Studies at the University of Virginia, I was raised a Buddhist by my mother's side of the family. My father's side of the family however is of the Chinese minority, the Hui Ming, and are descended from Arabs and Persians that settled in China during the Silk Road trade and

are predominantly Muslim. My own relationship with Sufism and Islam however is an objective one that is simply of academic interest, something that I try to keep in mind and stay considerate of in my interviews and analysis of Sufism on the Moroccan context. It has remained important to me to remember that while for me Sufism and Islam are academic pursuits, they could constitute another person's life and their spirituality.

It was also important for me to acknowledge throughout that there may be an air of suspicion to certain individuals that I interviewed because I am not a Muslim and I come from the United States, which has a reputation of being Islamophobic. I feel that this affected my research in that individuals that I surveyed may have felt that they were obligated to portray Islam and Sufism in a specific way, or that they may have been wary of my true intentions in learning more about Islam, Sufism, and the Moroccan government.

Methodology

My methodology included a combination of literary research as well as interviews and anonymous surveys. I was able to interview an expert on the topic of Sufism in Morocco, Professor Rddad, that was also incredibly knowledgeable on the *Qādiriyya* and *Tijāniyya*, youth interaction with Sufism, and had even conducted prior research on these topics. Another individual that I interviewed elected to remain anonymous, but she was an university student that considers herself associated with Sufism, but does not wish to associate with a tariqa, this is a relationship that I delve into more in the interview section. For the anonymous surveys, I attempted to draw from a diverse pool in order to gain a better understanding of the more general Moroccan public's ideas and impressions of Sufism in Morocco, especially in terms of the power dynamics of the *Qādiriyya* and *Tijāniyya*. I attempted to accomplish this by going to cafes with patrons of varying socio-economic backgrounds.

Throughout my research, I found myself running into several walls and limitations, but attempt to traverse around them throughout my ISP. One of the largest walls for me, is my positionality as an outsider, as I am not a native speaker of any of the prominent languages of Morocco, a Muslim, or Moroccan, it became a daunting task for me to not only explain why I wanted to study Sufism and Arabic in Morocco, but it also became a challenge for me to make the interviewees feel as though I was open to learning and open to any candid answers, even if the content may not be what I had expected. In terms of my expectations, I certainly had expectations in terms of how I believed that Sufism may function and be viewed in Morocco, prior to coming to Morocco, and even in my first weeks in Morocco, I knew that Sufism is a large part of Islam in Morocco, but I did not know how significant or how to even broach the topic with Moroccans in a meaningful way. While constantly urging myself to be open minded and to not allow

preconceived notions to influence myself, I found myself consistently being surprised during my interviews, exhibiting that I did indeed come into this project with preconceived notions, perhaps subconsciously to be able to wrap my research in a nice bow, complete and without frayed strings. I was simply not prepared for the ambiguous nature of this topic and I was certainly not ready for many of the questions and debates that I was faced with and continue to wrestle with, even as I “complete” my ISP.

Literary Research

Initially, it was rather hard to find specific literary context for the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya* and *Tijāniyya* in Morocco, but this was something that I adjusted for by reading articles on the *Qādiriyya* and *Tijāniyya* more broadly as well as spirituality in Morocco more broadly. General trends that I found throughout my literary research in the tone of the authors is a favorable impression of Sufism, especially Sufism in Morocco, as being revitalized and becoming increasingly favored over political factions, with the exception of *Al Adl wal Ihsān*, a Sufi group that has militant tendencies.

Throughout my literary research I also found that Sufism is favored to be progressive in revitalizing within the youth population in Morocco, especially expressed and explored in the articles “Moroccan Youth Go Sufi” by Khalid Bekkaoui and Ricardo René Larémont and “Survey on Moroccan Youth: Perception and Participation in Sufi Orders/Evaluation and Interpretation” by Khalid Bekkaoui , Ricardo René Larémont & Sadik Rddad. Post-2003 Casablanca bombings, it was recognized that there are two main issues in the radicalization of youth that are necessary to be addressed, that of the accessibility of radical Islam coupled with the lack of strong alternatives and the poor state of quality of life – especially pertaining to youth in Morocco contributed to the development of Shanties where radical Islam was able to thrive, and consequently where the Casablanca bombers came from (Bekkaoui and Larémont, 2011).

A series of methodology for de-radicalizing youth in Morocco using Sufism, namely the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya* which is known as “incontestably the most powerful Sufi order in Morocco” (Bekkaoui and Larémont, 2011, 34) is detailed throughout “Moroccan Youth Go Sufi” by Khalid Bekkaoui and Ricardo René Larémont, including significant figures, tactics, and even addresses militant Sufism.

Significant Figures

While there are several significant Sufi figures that are discussed in “Moroccan Youth Go Sufi” by Khalid Bekkaoui and Ricardo René Larémont, there were three in particular that came to light for me as being relevant to my research: Adberrahman Taha, a writer and philosopher that has perpetuated an image of Sufism as being rational – appealing to youth (Bekkaoui and Larémont, 2011, 36); Ahmed Tawfiq, the minister of the Ministry of Habus and Islamic Spirituality – who is directly associated with the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya*; and Sheikh Taha Abdessalam, the founder of Adl wal Ihsan, a militant Sufi group.

Tactics/Methods

Several methods that have been enacted by the Moroccan government and the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya* are addressed and detailed in this article, all for the purpose of rebranding Sufism as compatible with modernity and consequently youth in Morocco. One of the large ways that this has been done is through tapping into higher education both at the literary level as well as inviting university professors to participate in *ṭuruq* as *muqaddam*. In a similar vein, there has been an emphasis on the education of the soul as a significant dimension to Sufism in order to play to the logical and practical image that is desired to be depicted in order to recruit youth. Another major way is through art and festivals, as several festivals are hosted and held in conjunction between the Moroccan government and Sufi *ṭuruq* in order to perpetuate an image of a modern Sufism, even going as far as inviting contemporary artists to perform at these festivals. A major artist that has been influential in this is Abd al-Malik, a Congolese rapper that turned to Sufism and found that it saved him from becoming radicalized, thanking his Sheikh from saving him from

Guantanamo bay – an indirect manner of expressing how easily he could have fallen into extremism from the state he was in. The relative success of these recruitment tactics is seen through the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya* hosting a youth congress in June of 2009, that was attended by 10,000 disciples (Bekkaoui and Larémont, 2011, 39).

Militant Sufism

Sufism is oftentimes seen as being apolitical, however it is important to acknowledge the existence of Adl wal Ihsan, a militant Sufi *ṭarīqah* founded by Sheikh Abdessalam Yassine, and the politics surrounding the Moroccan government's condemnation of this particular *ṭarīqah* while claiming to support Sufism on the whole – perhaps as a sign of Sufism growing out of the control and scope of the Moroccan government. The founder of Adl wal Ihsan, Sheikh Abdessalam Yassine, himself has rebellious roots, as in his youth he renounced the King as the commander of the faithful and urged him to implement the *sharī'ah* more completely and to abandon the notion of the *mahzen*. The Monarchy's response has been the continual repression of this organization through means such as house arrest and jailing of the founder and several of his more prominent followers and leaders within the organization. However, regardless of these attempts by the Moroccan government, Adl wal Ihsan continues to be a strong presence in Morocco and a popular recruiter of Moroccan youth, both for its Sufi and militant dimensions. Even with the battle with the Moroccan government, disciples of Adl wal Ihsan are still encouraged to attempt to enact change through peaceful means only. It is also relevant to acknowledge that while the government does not approve of Adl wal Ihsan due to their condemnation of many practices and members of the Moroccan government and their militant dimension, they are seen as the lesser of evils in comparison

to more militant groups that are more known in the West for extremism, such as *al-Qaeda* and are able to draw youth away from extremist groups in favor of militant Sufism.

As most of this article discussed the role of the *Qādiriyya* specifically in de-radicalizing youth and perpetuating an image of a more tolerant Islam, I decided to accompany this with researching some of the staples and tenants of the *Qādiriyya*. Initially I feared that it may be difficult to find details on the unique practices and beliefs of the *Qādiriyya*, however I was pleasantly surprised to find easy access to a website sponsored by the *Qādiriyya ṭarīqah* that detailed out the beliefs and practices of the *Qādiriyya ṭarīqah*, even detailing out the logistics of praying *Qādiriyya* specific *wird*, additional prayers that are unique to each *ṭarīqah*. As derived from their website, it is clear that the *Qādiriyya* put a strong emphasis on the submission of the disciple to the *Sheikh*, and as a result, to the Prophet Muhammad and God as well. It goes on to explain how submission is a way to rise through the stations of Sufi experience, the way to advance the education of one's soul, and that submission contributes to the ultimate goal of Sufism, which is *fanā'* – otherwise known as annihilation of the selfish soul – and the obtainment of Divine Truth. Through reading the website, it is apparent that the website is geared towards the Western world, as it is originally published in English and details out several tenants, even going as far to define many terms both in the Islamic and Sufi context, assuming and accommodating limited prior knowledge, begging the question of the disparity between the image that the website attempts to project and the reality of Sufi practice within the *Qādiriyya*. It is also clear in the website that it wishes the present the *Qādiriyya* as being logically oriented while also having foundation in the orthodox and generally accepted as canon parts of Islam, as for each tenant that is adopted by the *Qādiriyya*, they supply a religious justification from the *Qur'ān* or *ḥadīth* tradition along with specific citations.

The *Tijāniyya*, while also having deep roots in Morocco, as the founder of the *Tijāniyya* taught and was eventually buried in Fez, have a different but equally important role than the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya*. This particular *ṭarīqah* is oftentimes utilized for spiritual diplomacy, defined in the Moroccan context by Žilvinas Švedkauskas in his article “Facilitating Political Stability: Cohabitation of Non-Legalistic Islam And The Moroccan Monarchy” as using “transnational networks of Sufi *ṭuruq* with Moroccan origins to establish himself [Mohammad the Sixth] as a regional leader.” It has become essential to creating spiritual ties with sub-Saharan nations as it is one of the most prominent *ṭuruq* in Africa and amongst Muslim African-Americans in the USA as well. In tugging on these spiritual ties through the *Tijāniyya* between Morocco and sub-Saharan Africa, Morocco is able to expand its influence beyond simply the nation-state borders of Morocco itself.

I was also fortunate to find an English based website that is sponsored by the *Tijāniyya ṭarīqah* that detailed several *Tijāniyya* tenants and practices. The website was also available in French and Arabic. Thematically, it was more logistically based rather than philosophical as the *Qādiriyya* website was, the *Tijāniyya* website was more focused on the specific rules that it is necessary to follow in order to be a part of the *Tijāniyya*, coming off as a stricter *ṭarīqah* than the *Qādiriyya*. One of the major things emphasized on their website, as with many other *ṭuruq* is the relationship between a *Sheikh* and their disciple, however the difference is the *Tijāniyya* frames it as more of a companionship. The *Tijāniyya* is also unique in that it is a rather restricting *ṭarīqah* in that disciples are not allowed to affiliate themselves with any other *ṭarīqah*; they are only allowed to visit *awliyā* that have been approved by the leaders of the *Tijāniyya*; they must perform the *wird* exactly, and they must agree with and accept all the teachings of the founder - Sheikh

Seyidina Ahmed Tijani, love the Sheikh Seyidina Ahmed Tijani; and they are forbidden to disrespect, contradict, or disagree with Sheikh Seyidina Ahmed Tijani.

There are two major initiatives that have been enacted in order to accomplish this goal of spiritual diplomacy with sub-Saharan Africa through the *Tijāniyya*. One is rather informal, it is the visitation by King Muhammad the Sixth of major *Tijāniyya* leaders in sub-Saharan nations along with political leaders. The other is a formal government foundation by the name of “Mohammed VI Foundation for African Ulemas”, a foundation with the goal of spiritual diplomacy and connecting Morocco with sub-Saharan nations, especially those of Western Africa, on a religious and spiritual level. Similarly, King Mohammed VI also implemented the Mohammed VI Institute for the Training of Imams in Rabat while draws pupils from all across North Africa and Western Africa, teaching them tenants founded in the *Mālikī* school of law and Sunni Sufism then dispersing them back to their original nations in order to teach, creating a tie between that nation’s spirituality and Morocco.

Interviews:

Interview One: Professor Sadik Rddad

On Tuesday, April 10th, I made a day trip to Fez in order to meet with Professor Sadik Rddad, an English professor that researched Sufism in Morocco extensively in his career. We met at a café of his choosing, brimming with students. I started the interview by introducing myself, including my major and academic background, as well as the framework and topic of my ISP, and he introduced himself and his background as well. It was during this part of the interview that verbal consent was gained from Professor Rddad to use our interview in my ISP project. The interview started out being guided by questions that I had written out prior to meeting with Professor Rddad (*Appendix 3*) but eventually it turned into a more organic conversation, where he explained the context and situation of Sufism in the wider Islamic conscious, as well as more specifically in the Moroccan context.

He started out by explaining to me a quote, “The East is the land of the Prophets, and Morocco is the land of the Saints”, and explained Morocco’s history with Sufism, as being a big producer of Sufi Saints, otherwise known as *awliyā*, and how especially in light of contemporary events in history, Sufism has been emphasized as one of the pillars of Moroccan Islam. Moroccan Islam, as explained to me by Professor Rddad has the pillars of following the *sharī‘ah*, *Mālikī* school of jurisprudence, acknowledging the King as the commander of the faithful, and more recently since the 2003 Casablanca bombings, *Sunnī* based Sufism. Moroccan Islam has a historical context of emphasized mysticism as Sufism was instrumental to the transmission of Islam into North Africa as with the greater Islamic world.

We then began speaking about his own research into Sufism in the past, which included a survey on the relationship in Morocco between Sufism and Moroccan Youth. Prior to going into

too many details about his own research however, Professor Rddad insisted on contextualizing youth spirituality in Morocco post-Independence. He explained how after independence, in 1956 in Egypt a strong pan-Arab nationalism movement that was rooted in secularism was born and spread across North Africa to Morocco. This led to the liberalization and secularization of many college campuses in Morocco, causing liberal extremism, making the Moroccan government nervous. In order to counteract this affect, that they believed to be rooted in the philosophy departments on campuses, the Moroccan government instilled and funded departments of religious study. However, as the departments went back and forth between religious and secular arguments, they increasingly radicalized in both directions, creating the issue of Islamism in Morocco, which culminated in the 2003 Casablanca bombings. The Moroccan government's response to this was to allow modernity and leftists to counterbalance Islamism as well as emphasize Sufism as a strong component of Islam in order to de-radicalize – as Sufism is viewed as relatively apolitical. However, Professor Rddad challenged me to implore whether this promotion of Sunni based Sufism as one of the main pillars of Moroccan Islam would grow out of hand and turn against the Moroccan government as the religious studies departments instilled in public Moroccan universities have.

From here, we began to discuss the methods that the Moroccan government has undertaken in order to help promote Sufism as being a staple in Moroccan Islam, as well as the implications and motives of these policies. In post-independence Morocco, Sufi *ṭuruq* were viewed with suspicion as perhaps being agents of colonialism or in the very least complacent in their control. A major move that was made by the Moroccan government to promote Sufism was the appointment of Ahmad Tawfiq to the position of Minister of Religious Affairs, as he is acknowledged as a member of the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya*, an integral *ṭarīqah* to the relationship

between spirituality and the central government in Morocco. Another spiritually political move that has been made, is the increasing number of meetings and visits between the King of Morocco, Mohammed the Sixth, and prominent spiritual leaders of other nations in Africa, not simply political or academic figures. His international visits, primarily with those of the *Tijāniyya* order, help to promote a sense of spiritual unity and association with African nations. This idea of international spiritual diplomacy is not one to take lightly, as it may be easy to do with a post-enlightenment Western positionality, as it has been integral to strengthening ties between Morocco and Western African nations, particularly Senegal, Gambia, and Mali. This discussion of *ṭuruq* progressed into dialogue on the specifics of each prominent tariqa and the significance of their presence in intergovernmental relations as well as de-radicalizing the Moroccan public, particularly the disillusioned youth.

Qādiriyya

In choosing any *ṭarīqah* to promote, it is important to ask the question of why this one particularly. In the case of the *Qādiriyya* the three major reasons are that they have a reputation of being very tolerant, they are in support of the King of Morocco as the leader of the faithful, and they are able to appeal the most to the Moroccan youth through a variety of methods. A major reason why they appeal more to Moroccan youth and educated masses is because they emphasize the importance of educating the soul as a way of attaining blessings rather than obtaining blessings solely from the cult of Saints that has become so prominent through the perpetuation of popular Sufism in Morocco. They also advocate for a more accommodating version of Sufism, an example being the moving of meetings from *zāwiyah* to private homes, which was seen as a modernization of Sufism that appealed to a wider demographic, as specific demographics could meet together for the meetings in

private homes based off of common characteristics. On the part of the *Qādiriyya* as well, their tenants dictate a very open and tolerant lifestyle that is able to accommodate those of many different backgrounds, they are known for not being overwhelmingly strict on the veil as well, giving members of the *Qādiriyya* the freedom to express themselves through their religion and not feel limited or restricted. They also pour resources into campaigns such as media campaigns in order to reach a wider audience and appeal more to the youth.

Tijāniyya

The *Tijāniyya* on the other hand, have a more specific demographic, that of middle-upper middle class and have a more difficult time appealing to Moroccan youth because of this. Within Morocco, the most prominent offshoot of the *Tijāniyya* is the *Darqāwiyya*, which comes from the *Shaḍīlīa*, as the founder, *Mōulāy al- ‘Arabī al- al-Darqāwī al-Zarwālī* was from Morocco. The *Tijāniyya Darqāwiyya* is known for being incredibly tolerant and promote the idea that the enemy of the soul is not external, but rather the soul itself, the selfish *nafs*. This reputation and ideology is very valuable to de-radicalizing youth, however due to their demographic of middle aged and older members that belong to middle-upper middle class, it can come off as being inaccessible for youth, reducing their appeal to de-radicalizing youth in Morocco. However they are significant for international spiritual diplomacy as well as for integrating several sub-Saharan migrant populations, as the *Tijāniyya* is a very prominent *ṭarīqah* amongst sub-Saharan communities. In more recent years, it has behooved Moroccan diplomacy to tap into their African roots and identity, rather than simply remained tied up in the North African/Mediterranean identity and disassociating with their African identity. The utilization of the *Tijāniyya* in spiritual diplomacy is exemplified through the King of Morocco, Mohammad the 6th's, meetings

with prominent leaders in the *Tijāniyya ṭarīqah* internationally, a practice that began approximately 6-7 years ago.

Traditions of Sufism in Morocco as discussed with Professor Rddad

High Tradition Sufism

High tradition Sufism can otherwise be known as Orthodox Sufism, this is the Sufism that is the most compatible with the institutionalized parts of Islam. It emphasizes education of the soul as a means to free the soul from evil inclinations, otherwise known as the *nafs* – the selfish part of the soul. This speaks to the canon Islamic concept of the greater jihad, the jihad of the inner soul and an acknowledgement of the importance of separating the selfish and worldly inclinations of the soul from the higher soul that in an attempt to transcend. In this it is also emphasized that Sufism is only Sufism in the context of Islam. The emphasis of education and the need to follow the orthodox and institutionalized sides of Islam in addition to the esoteric elements makes it appealing to logically minded individuals as well as the other institutions of Islam.

Metaphysical Dimension of Sufism

The metaphysical dimension of Sufism is the philosophical dimension of Sufism and delves into the path that must be taken through Sufism to get to God. A famous Islamic scholar that helped to popularize Sufism is *ibn ‘Arabī*, who wrote volumes on the canonization of Sufi philosophy. Interestingly, *ibn ‘Arabī* had many of his works burned for political reasons, as his works called for a renunciation of worldly wealth and power, intimidating those in power as they feared an undermining of their influence. The metaphysical dimension of Sufism really emphasizes turning inwards in order to destroy *al-nafs*, a process also known as *fanā’* – annihilation, and the separation of the animal part

of the human soul from the divine part of the human soul, achieving this is thought to be a departure of the human soul from the body, and a merging with the *wūjūd* of God, essentially a oneness and transforming into God. A famous example of a Sufi from the heroic period of Sufism is *al-Hallāj*, who to the outrage of prominent Islamic scholars and leaders at the time, would make declarations such as “أنا الحق!”, meaning “I am the Truth!”, a name of God. Sufi metaphysics also dictates a superiority of the soul and heart over the mind, there is a belief that you cannot think your way to Divine Knowledge, showing a clear distinction between post-Enlightenment Western thought and Sufi philosophy.

Popular Sufism

Popular Sufism from time to time deviates from the teachings of Islam, but is still seen as being very powerful whether for spiritual or political reasons. Popular Sufism consists of the Cult of Saints that has become so associated with Moroccan Islam, as well as the idea of pilgrimages to Sufi tombs for the attainment of baraka, or blessings/power of God, through Sufi saints and talismans. It is thought that elements of popular Sufism were essential in the transmission of Islam into North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa as Sufis were more inclined to adopt local customs and religious traditions into Islamic practice, easing the transition. In many cases, popular Sufism becomes a blend of Islamic and pagan traditions that are indigenous. Popular Islam tends to appeal more to the lower and middle classes that do not have a strong basis in the study of canon institutionalized Islamic theology, sciences, and philosophy.

Lastly, we discussed the role that Sufism has played in the advance of women’s spirituality as being a prominent force within Islam. In orthodox and institutionalized Islam, while women have access to spiritual resources such as the mosque, it is not always a very welcoming

atmosphere, even seen through the lower quality of the entrances for women. Sufism however, is much more inviting to women, even giving women the chance to arrange and run *dhirkullah* autonomously. Through Sufism, women have been able to find a way to express themselves more freely spiritually, especially as several *ṭuruq* have sections specifically for women, this phenomenon has helped to attract Moroccan youth to Sufism as well, as it is seen that Sufism and Islam are not in contradiction to modernity or feminism.

We concluded by speaking about *‘Abd al-Malik*, a Congolese rapper that discovered Sufism after traveling to Morocco, and that believes that Sufism saved him from a life of radicalization, hate, and resentment. But rather, through Sufism, he was able to find love. This is how we tied everything together in the end, if Sufism had to be defined by a single word, it would be “love”. Everything in Sufism is because of and through love, and loving another is loving oneself as we all come from the same breath of God, we are all of the same *wūjūd*, and God created the world so that he may be known and loved.

Interview Two: Anonymous University Student 1

Demographics: Early 20s, studying English, identifies with Sunni Sufism, studies in Rabat

I was introduced to this interviewee through mutual friends after expressing that I was interested in studying Sufism in Morocco as she had previously expressed to our mutual friend that she identified as Sufi. We met at a snug café of her choice that was filled with students so that she might feel comfortable during our interview. Initially I was worried that she might feel wary about speaking on her personal spirituality as well as her understanding of Sufism in Morocco, however I was pleasantly surprised when she was incredibly warm and enthusiastic to speak to me and gained written consent from her in order to use what we discussed in the interview. We elected to speak predominantly in English as she felt this was how she could best express herself with the

least risk of miscommunication and for religiously specific ideas we would switch to Standard Arabic, this did not present as a communication issue because I had encountered several of these terms in the past through my various coursework on Sufism. Due to the sensitive nature of some of the things that she expressed in the interview, we decided to keep her identity anonymous save for relevant demographic markers.

Coming into the interview, I did not realize that Sufism existed so viably outside of the *ṭarīqah* structure, however my understanding of Sufism as practiced was quickly rethought through our interview. The first question that I asked to kick off the interview was whether or not she associated with a *ṭarīqah*, and if so, which one. To my surprise, she quickly responded that she did not associate herself with a *ṭarīqah* but still identified as Sufi, prompting a spin-off conversation into the meaning of spirituality and Sufism to her. She was very insistent on defining Sunni Sufism as simply putting an emphasis on spirituality and one's own personal relationship with God, which she accomplishes through various personal rituals that she referred to as "celebrating faith". These methods and rituals included meditating to Sufi songs and the *Qur'ān* as well as doing everything with the focus of building a stronger relationship with God. To her, these all are able to exist outside of the *ṭarīqah* structure, in fact, she stated that she found the atmosphere of *dhirkullah* with a *ṭarīqah* to be very oppressive, dark, and overbearing. She simply did not feel comfortable in that environment and that her personal exploration of Sufism is just as viable.

We then went through a timeline of her own journey through her spirituality, which includes phases of atheism and a period of time when she felt lost. When she first decided to put a strong focus on her personal relationship with God rather than simply going through motions she was reluctant to put a label on it, as she did not want to feel limited or bound down by rules, rather she felt in order to be truly close to God and to have a personal relationship with him, she could

not be limited. However, after discovering more of the world of Sufism, she became incredibly interested in the world of South Asian Sufism, stating that she feels incredibly drawn to South Asian Sufism and feels disassociated with Moroccan Sufism. I followed this discussion up with the question of whether she would ever consider associating herself with a *ṭarīqah* in Morocco, but she answered that she did not feel that they aligned with her pursuits and re-emphasized that she did not enjoy the environment of the Zāwiyah culture in Morocco.

From there we started trying to outline the form of Sufism in Morocco. She said that many of the practices in Moroccan Sufism had an air of *Shī'ah* martyrdom, in that in many Moroccan Sufi celebrations she witnessed self harm actions that did not seem to actually faze the participant. She cited this as a reason for Moroccan Sufism being viewed as heavily marked by superstition and as merging with pagan traditions, as many that participate in this kind of activity believe that they are being protected from true harm by God or that they are beneficially possessed by *jinn*. Overall, I felt that she viewed these practices unfavorably and as deviating strongly from Islam.

I followed up by asking her why how she believed these “superstitious” practices came to become integrated in Moroccan Sufism, and she surprisingly cited mental illness and the suppression of mental illness as the root of allowing superstition to pervade Islam. She explained to me that from the psychological perspective, generations ago, whenever someone would exhibit mental illness, it would be attributed to causes such as *jinn* possession or a disassociation from spirituality, prompting remedies that in the contemporary context would be considered merely superstition. Throughout time, these practices became compounded upon themselves, layered, normalized, and integrated into Moroccan Islam and Sufism, however they have the potential to alienate potential disciples as they are associated with superstition and irrational behavior for many Moroccans.

From here we shifted from her own personal experience with Sufism to speaking more on public opinion of Sufism in general. First, I asked her about what her perception of the general Moroccan public's opinion on Sufism is. She said that in many cases, Sufism in Morocco is viewed as being superstitious and because of this, can have a negative connotation, however she also made sure to clarify that there are many that find Sufism to be incredibly beautiful and even practice Sufism. However, in her opinion, the Moroccan cult of saints and *zāwiyah* culture is not one that is a good representation of proper Islam as she feels the cult of saints has grown out of hand and is verging on *shirk*, one of the largest sins in Islam – associating or equating others with God. While she acknowledges that there is nothing wrong with respecting *awliyā* as being examples of how to worship God, she feels that the veneration of *awliyā* has grown into worship. She feels that many people may find Sufism to be ignorant or false and that if this is one's only understanding or knowledge of Islam, then they may have a negative or skewed understanding of Islam.

After discussing Moroccan public opinion on Sufism, we then went into the relationship between Sufism and the Moroccan government. Initially I was worried that because of my positionality as an American she would hesitate to speak too much into this, however I was thrilled to find that she was happy to be perfectly candid in the state of religious affairs in the government. She stated that she felt that the Moroccan government was unjustly biased towards Sufism over Christianity, Judaism, and other religions simply because it is associated with Islam and it allows them to promote their own agenda. Citing the superstitious nature of the *zāwiyah* culture in Morocco, she believes that the Moroccan government is attempting to tap into the disciple-*sheikh* relationship in order to keep the citizens complacent, apolitical, superstitious, and scared – proving an oppressive tactic and the true motivation behind promoting Sufism through *zāwiyah* culture. This is an easier citizen to control. While she believes strongly in spirituality, it is also her personal

opinion that religion is something that is exceedingly personal and that it is not the place of the government to interject and to dictate, rather Islamic governments should not exist, and rather should be replaced by a completely secular model. For her, this is the path to modernity. However, the reality in Morocco is one where it is necessary to maintain the delicate balance between tradition and modernity, religious government and secular government, in order to avoid political turbulence, and due to this reality, she believes that religion, especially Sufism, has been co-opted as a form of control by the Moroccan government. As far as she is concerned, there is nothing inherently wrong, but in order for it to be true Sufism and a true personal relationship with God, then everything else must be eliminated including involvement by the Moroccan government and extravagant deviating *zāwiyah* culture.

Interview Three: Anonymous University Student 2

Demographics: Early 20s, studying medicine, Sunni Muslim, studies in Casablanca

This interviewee is a friendly student at a University in Casablanca that approached me in a café in Rabat in order to initiate conversation. Through this conversation I came to learn that she is a medical student from Rabat and she learned that I am an American student in Morocco studying Arabic, Multiculturalism and Human Rights, and Sufism. She was quick to preface that she did not know much about Sufism, but that she was happy to help me with anything that she could. However, we still engaged in a short interview in order to gain another perspective from a Moroccan that did not have any strong associations with Sufism, whether academically or spiritually.

When asked about her prior knowledge of Sufism in general, she stated that she did not know much, other than it is essentially about renunciation of Earthly values in favor of a relationship and proximity to God, that it is a focus on spirituality. She also went on to state that many migrants are Sufi and seemed to associate Sufism more strongly with migrants rather than fellow Moroccans, but still recognized Sufism as a part of Moroccan identity. The only Sufi *ṭarīqah* that she was able to reference by name was the *Tijāniyya*, which she referenced as being the *ṭarīqah* that the Sufi migrants she is familiar with are a part of. From her limited background and association with Sufism, I asked her to give me her own personal opinion on Sufism, however she declined to answer this question as she did not consider herself well versed enough on the topic, rather she gave me her understanding of the Moroccan public opinion of Sufism, stating that there are many Moroccans that find Sufism to be exceedingly beautiful, but there are others that view it as superstition/too extravagant or do not know much of it altogether.

I concluded by asking her how she encountered the knowledge that she has of Sufism in Morocco and she cited her family members, many of which visit *zāwiyah* in Fez in order to pay tribute to *awliyā*, however she herself does not participate or know much about these rituals. She also stated that she acquired some knowledge on the *Tijāniyya* from her migrant friends that are associated with the *Tijāniyya* and is aware of the culture of collective dhikrullah and *samāʿ*. However, her knowledge did not extend much beyond this and she was apologetically unable to name any other *ṭarīqah* or prominent Sufi figures. I quickly assured her that this was not an issue at all, and that she contributed to my sample pool in a meaningful way.

Reflection on Interviews:

It is important for me to acknowledge how fortunate I am and how meaningful it is to my work that I was able to conduct interviews with individuals of such varying backgrounds and investments in Sufism. Without the interviewee pool that I encountered, my work would have truly been incomplete. I was able to encounter the topic of Sufism in Morocco through various different lenses, giving me a more complete and complex view that explores various facets. My interview with Professor Rddad was academically based, and it was very enlightening to hear his academic opinions and research that he has conducted in the past. I'm fortunate that he was so willing to speak to me and share his knowledge, he was also incredibly accommodating to my own academic background and laid a strong foundation for my understanding of Sufism in the Moroccan context, giving me food for thought to carry into my literary research and other interviews.

The interview with the first university student was the most eye opening for me in terms of alternative opinions of Sufism and the relationship between Sufism and the government, and it is an enlightenment that I am eternally grateful for. I am also incredibly fortunate that she was so comfortable speaking so openly and candidly on something as personal on her own spirituality,

especially in the context of how personal she takes religion and the context of religion as being a taboo topic to speak on in Morocco. This interview was especially enlightening as prior I had only seen the viewpoint that the promotion of Sufism as a pillar of Moroccan Islam is a positive and effective means of de-radicalizing potential seeds for extremism, however after speaking with this university student I was exposed to an opinion that viewed Sufism as promoted by the government as being an oppressive and controlling tactic.

While the second university student did not feel that she was able to contribute much to my research, her opinion was a valuable one that helped me to understand the neutral and unassociated opinion of Sufism in Morocco. In my time in Morocco, I've had several instances where Moroccans have asked me why I'm in Morocco, and I explain that I'm a student that's studying Arabic, Multiculturalism and Human Rights, and conducting research which inevitably prompts the question of "what subject are you researching?". This usually leads into a conversation about how I'm studying Sufism, which always receives the mixed reactions of "oh, that's forbidden. It's simply superstition, it's not Islam" or "I don't know anything about it honestly". This was consistent with the interview I conducted with the second university student, as she quickly apologized at the beginning of the interview, stating that she did not know much about Sufism and did not have much of a basis to speak on it, however she was happy to help me however she could. Her understanding of the public opinion of Sufism in Morocco was fairly consistent with the reactions I had received prior when it came to speaking with locals about my studies as she stated that many Moroccans either know nothing about Sufism, view it as superstitious or extravagant, or they are associated with Sufism and find it beautiful.

Conclusion

Prior to coming to Morocco, I had taken extensive coursework on Sufism, even in the context of Morocco and Morocco's cult of saints, however I was unable to reconcile my understanding of Sufi doctrine with a contemporary form of Sufism that is practical and exercised in Morocco now. I was eager to meet Sufis and have discussions with them, if they were willing, but I did not anticipate how hard it would be to spot disciples of *ṭuruq*, more commonly referred to as *zāwiyah* in colloquial Arabic. It was also impossible for me to anticipate how many people in Morocco had limited knowledge on Sufism or the impression that Sufism has on the Moroccan conscious, or how Sufism and Moroccan Islam have both melded in many ways to the point where Moroccan Muslims do not recognize certain practices as Sufi, but rather simply tradition. The history of Islam in Morocco and Sufism in Morocco is nearly inseparable due to Sufism's long standing presence on the Moroccan conscious and role in shaping Islamic tradition and practice in Morocco.

While Sufism inherently is thought to be apolitical, time and time again throughout history there have been instances in which Sufism has been used for political reasons or drawn political reactions. Such examples particularly those of Western Africa include Uthman dan Fodio, the founder of the Sokoto Caliphate which is what is now known as modern day Nigeria, a member of the *Qādiriyya* that used Sufism as one of his inspirations in his jihad and he insisted on a deeper form of spirituality within his Caliphate and Amadu Bamba a notorious Sufi Shaykh that initially belonged to the *Qādiriyya* before forming his own *ṭarīqah* became a beloved symbol of Senegambian pride and resistance against the French. This goes to show how central Sufism is to West Africa and how it is aptly the key to spiritual diplomacy between Morocco and Africa, particularly West Africa, while also giving historical precedent to Sufism being used for political reasons and affiliations.

Namely, the two *ṭuruq* that I decided to focus on that are instrumental both to spirituality within Morocco and in spiritual diplomacy are the *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya* and *Tijāniyya*. The *Qādiriyya Budshishiyya* have been incredibly significant to the de-radicalization of youth and the increase of tolerance within Moroccan Islam. It has masterfully branded itself as being contemporary in a pursuit to negate the stereotype of Sufism being archaic or superstitious and has been successful in recruiting across demographics, appealing to logic with an emphasis on the education of the soul. The *Tijāniyya* has been instrumental in extending Moroccan spirituality and influence over all regions where disciples of the *Tijāniyya* reside, both because of the founder's history with Morocco – teaching from and being buried in Fez – as well as the popularity of the *Tijāniyya ṭarīqah* in Morocco, establishing a sense of collectivity and unity between Morocco and sub-Saharan nations.

Luckily, I was able to get my feet on the ground and conduct a few interviews. I was able to gain three incredibly introspective, diverse, and integral perspectives – one as a scholar that studies Sufism, one as a Sufi that does not associate herself with a Moroccan tariqa, and one that is an intelligent student that does not know much about Sufism understanding only that much of Sufi practice has been infused into Moroccan Islamic tradition but unable to parse through it herself. These gave me a diverse scope to look through and helped to shape my understanding of Sufism in Morocco as being diverse, a relationship that is not always apparent or clear to Moroccans as well.

Limitations and Future Research

I would be bereft to not acknowledge some of the limitations and walls that I encountered in the process of researching Sufism in Morocco. While I am eternally grateful for all of the opportunities that I have been fortunate enough to have access to, it is important for me to acknowledge the limitations in order to confront flaws in my own methodology and to pave ways for further research. As many of my peers may have found, the time constraint became a major limitation. At the beginning, a month felt like a long time to do everything that is necessary for a conducive research paper, however from the first day, I realized that the time I had was rather short, and that to truly do the topic of Sufism in Morocco justice, even with a slim focus on only one or two *tariqa*, much more time was needed. Not only to have more time to establish ethical connections and sources to interview, but to also establish connections within the *turuq* that I chose to study in order to gain a more personal and direct insight, rather than impersonally through a website.

Along this vein, I wish that I had been able to conduct more interviews with those from different perspectives, especially with disciples that consider themselves affiliated with a Moroccan *tariqa*, however with my positionality as a non-Muslim girl and my time limit, it was quite hard for me to approach individuals. I also felt limited by my own discomfort in approaching Moroccans that I was unfamiliar with and to ask them extensively about a topic as sensitive as religion, I was unable to find the most ethical way to accomplish this feat. It also felt presumptuous if I were to approach certain Moroccans, believing that I would elicit a certain reaction from them on the topic of Sufism. However, I believe with the question of additional time, I may have been able to establish ethical contacts that would have been comfortable in speaking with me on Sufism in Morocco, ideally those that are part of a *ṭarīqah*. I feel that it would have behooved my research had

I found members from the *Qādiriyya* and *Tijāniyya* that could speak to me on their tenants in a more personal manner and sobering perspective.

The interaction between Sufism in Morocco and religion and culture on the whole in Morocco is indubitable. Morocco has always had a historical contextualization of Sufism, and through time, many Sufi practices and ideals have become integrated into Moroccan Islam as well as Moroccan culture on the whole, to the point where many Moroccans that I have interacted with are unable to separate one from the other or trace certain practices back to their original Sufi context. While many Moroccans still do not know much about Sufism, they have received marginal side effects of living in a society that promotes Sufism, as increased spirituality is a trend seen with Moroccans, as well as increased tolerance, and a decrease in religious radicalization – especially of Moroccan youth, due to the alternative option of Sufism. However, it is important to acknowledge Sufism is also used as a political propaganda tool in order to make apolitical spirituality the form of Islamic spirituality in Morocco, but it is also necessary to beg the question of whether this perpetuation of Sufism as a tenant of Moroccan Islam will end up becoming a Frankenstein monster that ends up turning and what lasting legacies this era of contemporary Sufism may bring, a question that can only be answered with time.

Appendices:

Appendix 1:

Consent Form

أنا أفهم أنّ كل أشياء في هذه المقابلة هي لبحث ولكن باحثة هي لن تكتب اسمي في هذا البحث ولكنها يمكن أن أكتب عن أشياء
أنني قالت.
أفهم أنها ستحمي اسمي وهويّتي وأسمح لها بالكتابة الأشياء التي أكتبها أو أتحدثها. أفهم أنّ الباحثة ستسجلّ هذه المقابلة للترجم
في المستقبل.

تاريخ

توقيع

I understand that everything I say in this interview is for research purposes, however the researcher will not write my name in the research. She may write on the things that I said in the interview. I understand that she will protect my name and my identity and I permit her to write on the things I write and say. I understand that this interview may be recorded for translation purposes.

Signature

Date

Anonymous Interview on Sufism in Morocco (Base Questions)

مقابلة مجهولة عن تصوف في المغرب

- Are you in a tariqa? If so, which one? هل أنت في طريقة؟ أي
○ What led you to decide to join this tariqa? How is this tariqa different from other ones?
■ لماذا قررت أن تلتحق بهذه الطريقة؟ هل هذه الطريقة مختلف عن طريقة أخرى
- What do you know about Sufism in Morocco? ماذا تعرف/ين عن تصوف في المغرب
○ Do you think it is different from Islam in the rest of the world?
■ بالنسبة لك، هل الإسلام في المغرب مختلف عن الإسلام في العالم الإسلامي؟ كيف
- What do you know more specifically on the Qadiriyya in Morocco?
○ ماذا تعرف/ين عن القادرية في المغرب؟
- What do you know more specifically on the Tijaniyya in Morocco?
○ ماذا تعرف/ين عن التجانية في المغرب؟
- Do you think Sufism in Morocco is different from Sufism in other parts of the world?
○ بالنسبة لك، هل تصوف في المغرب مختلف عن تصوف عن كل العالم الإسلامي؟ كيف
- How much is Moroccan Islam influenced by Sufism in your opinion?
● ما هي العلاقة بين تصوف والإسلام في المغرب
- How much of Moroccan society on the whole is influenced by Sufism in your opinion?
● ما هي العلاقة بين ثقافة المغربية وتصوف في المغرب؟
- What is the relationship between Sufi tariqa and the Moroccan government?
○ ما هي العلاقة بين تصوف وحكومة المغربية

Appendix 3:

Questions for Rddad

1. What is your academic/professional background?
 - a. How did you come to study Sufism?
2. What academic area in the study of Sufism do you specialize in?
3. Please describe Sufism in Morocco as you understand it
 - a. Could you please speak on the *Qādiriyya* in Morocco more specifically?
 - b. Could you please speak on the *Tijāniyya* in Morocco more specifically?

Citations (APA format)

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